126 and the taping sessions became a popular way of sharing personal experiences with their classmates. This activity provided unexpected insights into the children's uses of and attitudes toward language. When reading back versions of their own stories which I had typed in standard orthography but which preserved the children's own syntactic patterns as closely as possible, the children habitually "corrected" their original grammar in the direction of more standard usage. This exercise provided strong evidence that the reading activity in the children's minds was associated with the use of standard English. Further evidence for such an association came from my work with a small group of mainland non-readers, all of whom used many creole features in their speech both inside and outside the classroom. Hearing from several teachers that the problem of non-reading boys was widespread, I conducted an informal survey of county elementary schools with the cooperation of the county school administration. This survey indicated that black males who were not able to read at the fifth grade level outnumbered both white males and black females at the same level by a ratio of four to one. Social factors associated with language use patterns for the two sexes are indicated as an underlying cause for this difference in school performance, and will be discussed in conjunction with the different patterns of linguistic change shown by adults in their community. My findings on the possible correlation between language use and

•125

125 attitudes and the children's school performance were made available to school officials in a final report to the Georgetown County Board of Education at the conclusion of my field work. The recording sessions with children utilized the same kinds of recording equipment described above, with the small clip-on microphone again proving most successful. Most sessions were conducted in a semi-private section of the school auditorium, with at least two and no more than five children present for each recording.

124 All of the data used for the present study come from connected free discourse, recorded in environments familiar to the speakers and using topics of interest to the participants. The experiences of seeing the sun rise through the trees that bordered the river island, feeling the bitter cold of an early morning boat ride across the water, shaking out the sand after a walk through the deeply rutted roads, watching the scrub oaks turn a brilliant red in fall, a dull brown in winter--these experiences which leave traces inside people were as important to an analysis of the language used in this community of coastal South Carolina as were the tracings on magnetic tape made of our conversations. These shared experiences with the people made possible the hours of language activity between us.

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TABLE 3

124 SCHEMATIC OF UNIT INTERVIEWING PATTERN

	James	Johns	Wadmalaw	Yonges	Edisto
Grandparents	1st	1st	1st	1st	1st
Parents	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd
Children	2nd	2nd	2nd	2nd	2nd

Interviewing Places.--The family gap was the site of the interviews. Interviews were conducted both in and out of doors. The actual sight of the interview was left to the discretion of the interviewee. In some cases the location turned out to be under large oak trees, on porches; other interviews were conducted in parked cars, in open fields and even in row boats.

Interview Pattern.--The group interview was not used. It was not possible to absolutely isolate some respondents (i.e., mothers with young children). However, a concerted effort was made to insure privacy and confidentiality during the interview. This effort was relaxed in the interviewing of children, but children were not interviewed when in close company of adult members of the unit.

124 125 Instrument Pre-Testing.--Two family units from Johns Island were used in the pre-administration of the instrument. As a result of the pre-test inactivities the length of the structured questionnaire was reduced by nine questions. The open response phase of the instrument was

124 deleted in total. The first reducing action was taken be-
125 cause these questions elicited an extremely wide range of responses and was therefore judged as irrelevant and tangential to the exi tence of the respondents. The second deletion was taken because the complete instrument was too time consuming and tedious to complete.

124 The second major modification was in the method of administration. It quickly became evident that insisting on the absolute isolation of respondents was a hindrance to and heighten the inhibitions of the interviewees. The adopted procedure was to insist on interviewee privacy only to the extents to which privacy was feasible. See Appen-
125 dix A for study instrument and subject categorization form. A

INTERVIEW PROCEDURE

123 The presence of the researcher in the Family Gap ob-
124 viously disturbed the family activities. To counteract this effect the researcher made pre- or non-interviewing visits to each Gap before actual interviews were begun. The purpose of the pre-visits were to acquaint the researcher with the family members (their patterns) and as importantly to have the family get adjusted to the researcher. These visits lasted as long as was necessary for this adjustment to take place. These visits lasting from "day clean" until late in the evening hours provided the

A, [See Category 125, pp. 80-82--Analyst]

123 researcher ample opportunity to explain the nature of the
124 research effort and to alleviate any concerns which were voiced. When the researcher was satisfied that these objectives had been met, the actual interviews were begun.

When all members of a unit had been interviewed, this procedure was repeated at the next Family Gap. When all interviews were completed on one island, the researched moved on to the next island repeating the same procedures until the interview schedule was completed.

INTERVIEW METHOD

The participation observation interview was used as the data collection method. A structured interview utilizing thirteen questions was administered. (125) Each interview was conducted from a structured format. After the respondent had designated where the interview was to be held, the actual procedure was to engage the respondent in conversation about the family. The focus of the conversations were initially directed at general aspects of the family and as the discussion continued the researched directed the content of the conversation by directly asking each question on the instrument. Respondents were allowed to answer questions in as much detail as they wanted. The researcher followed each complete response with the question "does dat about cover it?" If the respondent said yes, the researcher asked the next question. If the response was no, the

123 researcher asked "what else need be said?" and respondents
124 were allowed to complete their answers before the next question was asked.

RECORDING RESPONSE

124 A structured response sheet was used to record re-
126 sponses. This sheet contained a listing of each question and the possible responses. When a response was one of the listed responses, the researcher merely checked that response. When responses were offered for which no previous categories existed, these responses were entered under the category "other" for that question.

At the end of each interviewing day the researcher added these responses in the other category to the list of possible responses. The final activity of the day was to tabulate the responses.

RESPONSE MEASUREMENT

124 Responses for question Number 3 were scaled on a five
• 125 point design. Twelve of the questions had pre-established response categories. Each question was followed by a list of from three to eight separate response categories. "Other" was the last response category of each question. Responses which did not fit into existing categories made up the other categorical responses (see questionnaire, Appendix A). A A

A, [See Category 125, pp. 80-82--Analyst]

124
125

Schematic of the Scale Measurements

Scale	Everytime	Often	Sometime	Seldom	Never
Quest. (3)	0	1	2	3	4

STUDY CONSIDERATIONS

122 Adjusting to the Sea Island environment was a crucial prerequisite to the successful conduct of this research effort. Even though the researcher is a native speaker of the Gullah dialect a period of adjusting or tuning into this speech pattern was necessary.

These adjustments were expedited by time and by gaining as much exposure to the dialect as possible.

124 Through the pre-administration activities it became clear that the interviewing schedules would have to be flexible and modified in consideration of the summer habits of the islanders. What this meant along with other things was that the researcher had to conduct the interviews of women folks at a time when the daily chores were completed and the women were relaxing from the summer heat. For working members of the family weekend and late evening interviews were most appropriate.

During the trail administration family members were obviously anxious about being isolated from the family and discussed their anxiety with the researcher. It was apparent that this procedure operated in opposition to a rather free flowing interaction style among family members.

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APPENDIX

THE STUDY INSTRUMENT

•125 I. Grandparents M or P Sex ____ Year of Birth ____.

Parents ____ Sex ____ Year of Birth ____

Children ____ Sex ____ Year of Birth ____

II. Where were you born? ____

III. On which Island were you born? ____

IV. Where is the house you were born in? ____

Where is the house you were reared in? same

different

How many rooms in the house you were reared in? ____

V. Did you live with your mother and father? ____

Yes, No, other ____

VI. What other adults lived with you? ____

VII. Who lives with you now? age, sex, number

grand parent ____
parent ____
children ____
relative ____
other ____

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Appendix--Continued

DISCIPLINE QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

•125 1. Waat kins ob punismen di ya parens use?

a) beetn
b) scoldn
c) beetn n scoldn
d) other

* 2. How oben waz ya beet fer dis tinzs?

a) fightn
b) stealn
c) lying
d) strike parent
e) field chores
f) house n yard chores
g) other

3. How oben waz ya punish a mont?

a) everytime
b) often
c) sometime
d) few times
e) never

4. Wen waz d chilln ta ole fer beetn?

a) make own libn
b) behave respectfully
c) wan own house
d) wen marrie
e) wen twenty-one
f) wen carrie own britches
g) neben too ole
h) other

5. Di bo N gal giz punist d sami?

a) both beet n scold
b) both beet n scold fer different reasons
c) both beet n scold fer same reasons

* 6. How ole waz ya wen ya giz beet ferd last time?

a) 14-16
b) 17-19
c) 20-22
d) 23-25
e) 27-30
f) 30 plus

7. Waat waz d kase fer ya last beetn?

a) fightn
b) field chores
c) house n yard chores
d) child care
e) sassi talk

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Appendix--Continued

•125

• 8. Wen ya waz fitten dmas beetn hov oben?

a) six or less a year
b) one a month
c) three a month
d) one a week
e) two a week

9. Waat d waaze tin a chil can do?

a) field chores
b) house n yard chores
c) sassi talk
d) cheat, steal or lie
e) neglect chilln
f) curse
g) go to creek
h) fightn

10. Ca ya rea y chil nov a dae lik ya rea?

a) less control to dae
b) chilln bold tadae
c) more troble n d chilln face tadae
d) grandparents spoil d chilln nov a dae

11. Do beetn go wete scoldn?

a) talk n beet
b) talk first d en beet
c) haad head mak soft behin

LOVE RELATIONSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

12. Who di ya turn ta en time eb trouble?

a) family
b) God
c) neighbor

13. Waat feeln waz behin ya parents beetn n scoldn?

a) love
b) teach christian ways
c) to behave right
d) do right tinz
e) so can hab good life
f) mad at me
g) cas I be bad
h) other

---

*Null hypothesis test questions.

123 speaker. Many school-age children between the ages of 10
124 and 16 with formal education used Creole features as
frequently as many of the elderly consultants.

124 The following preliminaries were made in preparation
125 for the study:

1. A list of features known to be Creole to keep me alert to Creole construction types.
2. An awareness of conversation topics most likely to have a high probability of eliciting natural responses.
3. A word list containing minimal pairs for the elicitation of vowels and consonants.

124 The word list was not included until my third and
126 final visit to Wadmalaw Island. The list is long and the elicitation is painfully slow and exacting. I soon learned that some of the words on the list were unfamiliar to the consultants, but I was given their equivalent word replacements. For example, Gullah speakers do not often say *bit*, *air*, *coffin*, or *cot*. Instead they use *bite*, *breeze*, *pinto* and *sates*, respectively. Each consultant who aided with the phonology survey was one that I had known and spent a substantial amount of time with over the three year period. Those who were able to read pronounced the words into my tape recorder and I transcribed them on the spot. Others who were unable to read because of failing eyesight or other factors were asked to pronounce the words using different techniques. For example, I often asked questions such as, 'What do you wear on your feet when you go

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Consultant Data Sheet

•125 Name _____ Sex ___ Age _____

Address _____ Race _____

Highest grade level reached in school ___

Schools attended _____

_____

_____

Oldest child in family? Yes___ No ___

If not oldest, what? _____

Parents' birthplace:

Father _____ Grandfather _____
Grandmother _____

Mother _____ Grandfather _____
Grandmother _____

Religion _____

What language besides English is spoken? _____

Father's occupation _____

Mother's occupation _____

Spouse's occupation _____

Other places lived _____

Other places spouse has lived _____

Birthplace _____

Years on Island _____

Spouse's parents' brithplace: Father _____
Mother _____

Maiden Name _____

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Word List

•125 Group 1: [i]

beet	bear	will	teeth
bit	freeze	well	thief
bite	sheep	meal	gritty
deep	ship	mill	greedy
dip	wick	sin	eleven
tree	week	seen	

Group 2: [e]

late	hair	break	safe
let	air	brake	ate
made	save	tell	eight
mate	cake	tail	lady
met	brick	pain	
date	wreck	pen	
debt			

Group 3: [ɛ]

get	where	yesterday
let	when	like
lead	pair	lick
met	kick	carl
debt	cake	carol
there	take	self

Group 4: [a]

sort	car	back	wife
cart	care	bark	life
had	natural	han	lie
hard	scrap	hon	lay
duck	strap	hon	
dark	stripe	marsh	

125

Group 5: [a]

out	jaw	drop
and	start	stop
draw	tired	call

Group 6: [æ]

fat	stand	that	cat
fart	stun	cot	cut
bad	man	cart	
back	moan		

Group 6: [ɒ]

part	hospital	other	curl
pot	crap	rather	main
yonder	scrap	rice	mine
gander	crop	rise	father
what	John	all	further
water	jan		

Group 7: [ɔ]

but	born	suck	one
put	one	sook	hoarse
God	cod	up	boy
buck	cud	hock	cousin
hook	could	huck	dog
now	coffin	hook	dug
tuck	sock	gone	
took		gun	

Group 8: ɑ/ʌ

cut	wood	took	buck
put	to	tuck	book
putt	bush	pull	took

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•125 Group 9: [o]

gold	more	hole	nosy
goal	mow	home	noisy
toe	over	hum	host
dough	cover	close	ghost
door	broke		morning

Group 10: [u]

boot	pour	soup	moon
soot	poor	sup	moan
too	mule	look	roof
new	use	luke	rough
dew		cool	

Group 11: [ei]		Group 12: [ɛl]	
several	raise	like	tale
till	same	tell	
rain			

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Bimorphemic Clusters

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st	md	ft	ld
missed	named	finished	called
messed	foamed	latched	smelled
dressed	rammed	cashed	killed
nd	**pt**	**ft**	**kt**
raised	mapped	laughed	looked
composed	stopped	stuffed	cooked
amazed	clapped	roughed	cracked
	vd	**nd**	
	loved	rained	
	lived	fanned	
	moved	canned	

Monomorphemic Clusters

st	pt	sp	kt
test	apt	wasp	act
post	adept	clasp	contact
list	inept	grasp	expect
sk	**ft**	**nd**	**ld**
desk	left	mind	cold
risk	craft	find	wild
mask	cleft	mound	old